824 [262] [432] [462] [494] Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use, with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater, the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

241 262 (2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki) (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese, Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

[263] [252] (3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L) is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment, or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in stripe in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh [231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is [184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have [221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce, [252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the [251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

434 593 The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. [513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 [458] Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

13

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, [519] boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made 252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every [264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.8 The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary.

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store.

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors.

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings.

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war.

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile

for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
[857] event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1965) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

stored and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
[438] several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[251] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[442] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[493] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [351]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [757]

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [325] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those [231] for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.